

## Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-04

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

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FOR CODEL DIGGS FROM ASST SECRETARY SCHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (DIGGS, CHARLES)

SUBJECT: CODEL DIGGS

1. THANK YOU FOR THE  
VIEWPOINTS YOU CONVEYED IN YOUR TELEGRAM OF JANUARY 24  
FROM NEW DELHI. THEY WERE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED DURING  
PREPARATION OF THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY BEFORE SENATOR  
CLARK'S SUBCOMMITTEE JANUARY 29. I HOPE A COPY OF HIS  
TESTIMONY, TRANSMITTED BY WIRELESS FILE, WAS MADE  
AVAILABLE TO YOU.

2. IN RESPONSE TO POINTS RAISED IN YOUR TELEGRAM I HAVE  
FOLLOWING COMMENTS TO PASS ON TO YOU:

A. COVERT PROGRAM: AFTER CONSIDERATION OF ALL ALTERNATIVES AND IN VIEW OF COVERT NATURE OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT  
OUR CONCLUSION THAT A MODEST COVERT PROGRAM TO MEET THE  
NEEDS OF FNLA/UNITA AND APPEALS FROM FRIENDLY AFRICAN  
GOVERNMENTS WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE ONE.

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B. BRIEFING: BY THE TIME OF YOUR AUGUST 19 MEETING WITH

SECRETARY KISSINGER THE SIX APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES HAD BEEN BRIEFED ON THE ANGOLAN PROGRAM. THE AUGUST 19 MEETING WAS NOT A "CLOSED" MEETING. IT WAS, MOREOVER, OUR HOPE AT THAT TIME THAT A COVERT RESPONSE BY THE US WOULD BE A SUFFICIENT SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS TO

CAUSE THEM TO REASSESS THEIR ACTIVITIES.

C. NEED-TO-KNOW: DEPARTMENT TOOK STEPS TO HAVE YOU INDIVIDUALLY BRIEFED ON THE ANGOLAN PROGRAM BY ACTING ASST SECRETARY MULCAHY WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT YOU HAD NOT BEEN BRIEFED BY KNOWLEDGEABLE MEMBERS OF HIRC.

D. SOUTH AFRICA: IT REMAINS ENTIRELY TRUE THAT USG HAD NO FOREKNOWLEDGE OF SAG'S DECISION TO INTERVENE IN ANGOLA. SAG'S INVOLVEMENT, ALWAYS AN EMBARRASSMENT TO US POSITION, BEGAN SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER US DECISION TO AID FNLA/UNITA. NOR WERE WE THEREAFTER CONSULTED ON SAG ROLE IN AND POLICIES REGARDING ANGOLA, ALTHOUGH WE WERE GENERALLY AWARE THROUGH INTELLIGENCE CHANNELS OF SAG'S MILITARY ACTIVITIES THERE.

E. FUTURE POLICY: SINCE THE HOUSE HAS NOW SUSTAINED SENATE CUT-OFF OF FUTURE FUNDS FOR USE IN ANGOLA WE HAVE REACHED NO DECISIONS REGARDING ANGOLAN SITUATION. WE ARE STUDYING OUR OPTIONS AND ARE CONSULTING ALSO WITH NUMEROUS AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN. THIS WEEK, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND HIGH-LEVEL ZAMBIAN AND ZAIRIAN EMISSARIES ARE IN WASHINGTON FOR DISCUSSIONS. USE OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE FUNDS FOR ANGOLAN PURPOSES WOULD BE ILLEGAL AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE CONTEMPLATED.

F. GULF OIL CORPORATION: GULF IS AND HAS ALWAYS BEEN FREE TO PURSUE ITS OWN COURSE OF ACTION. PENDING A DEFINITIVE SETTLEMENT OF ANGOLA'S INTERNAL PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, WE WOULD NATURALLY HOPE GULF WILL CONTINUE ITS CURRENT POSTURE.

G. WITHDRAWALS: SAG MILITARY FORCES HAVE NOT BEEN IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMBAT FOR SOME WEEKS. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA EXCEPT FROM THE ZONE NEAR THE DAM, IRRIGATION AND HYDROELECTRIC INSTALLATIONS ON THE CUNENE RIVER. OUR OBJECTIVE WILL STILL BE TO WORK FOR EARLIEST USSR/CUBAN WITHDRAWAL.

H. POSTWAR ASSISTANCE: IF CONGRESS PASSES CURRENT FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BILL CONTAINING DOLLARS 30 MILLION FOR

EX-PORTUGUESE AFRICAN STATES A GENEROUS SHARE SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR ANGOLA IF OUR HELP IS REQUESTED AND IF WE ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH AN ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT. WE ALSO PLAN TO CONTINUE TO RESPOND FAVORABLY TO APPEALS BY AGENCIES SUCH AS ICRC AND UNHCR FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

I. USG-SAG CONVERGENCE: OUR POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO BE TO SUPPORT INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE FOR NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. (YOU ARE PROBABLY AWARE US JOINED ALL 14 OTHER UNSC MEMBERS IN PASSAGE OF STRONG RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA JANUARY 30.) WE ARE PREPARED TO PLAY ANY HELPFUL ROLE TOWARD SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY AFTER OUR CREDIBILITY IS RESTORED WITH REPEAL OF BYRD AMENDMENT. OUR OPPOSITION TO SAG APARTHEID SYSTEM REMAINS FIRM.

J. AFRICAN POLICY: CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION IS BEING GIVEN TO THE CONTENT OF OUR AFRICAN POLICY. THIS WILL CONTINUE. YOUR CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS WILL ALWAYS BE WELCOMED AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED.

3. BEST REGARDS. HOPE TO SEE YOU SOON. INGERSOLL

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